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Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana
Halyikwami

727 [787] [753] But if an enemy was doomed, he would hear the scalps weeping. Why he slept with them is not clear: "they put the pot at the old man's head because if it was elsewhere, the scalps might act as enemies and make him sick." The jar containing these trophies remained permanently in this spot, although he no longer slept with it.

535 727 The scalp dance might be repeated at any time, presumably as much for entertainment as for any other reason, taking exactly the same form. At their request the old man would bring out the scalps, wash and dress the hair; and again bathe and sleep with them for four days. They never asked directly but said, "Dress up our visitors and let them visit us."

727 [171] Scalps were never used to bring rain nor to cure the sickness they caused, as by the Pima,[32] nor were they carried to war in Yuma fashion.

THE SIB SYSTEM

614 [553] The Maricopa and the allied Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai shared a single system of sibs (clans) of the type established for other lower Colorado Yumans by Kroeber.[33] These were patrilinear, definitely named groups, strictly exogamous, and "totemic." They not only bore names the same as or analogous to those on the lower Colorado, but these tribes shared the peculiar habit of naming women of the sib for the totems in an indirect fashion. Further, the sib system was definitely integrated with the calendar of months and hence with the economic round. There was no suggestion of localization of the sibs.

614 771 787 825 On the other hand, the system had no relation whatever to their religious life. Yet this would have been quite possible. The basis of Maricopa religion was dream experience with spirit birds and animals. The spirit dreamed of might well have been one of the totems of the dreamer, yet such was not the case. There is not a single instance of this, and it was quite remote from their minds that one should dream of his totem.

[32] Parsons, *Notes on the Pima*, p. 461.

[33] *Handbook*, p. 741.

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Mohave
Halchidhoma

There were differences between these sibs and those on the Colorado, or at least those of the Mohave as Kroeber describes them. Mohave sibs are said to be nameless; all the women of a sib were called by a single name, which had totemic reference; and the totemic name was not the everyday word for the totem. Thus, all Mohave women of a particular sib were called hipa. This name was said to "mean" coyote although in normal Mohave speech the coyote was hukθara. According to Mohave myth, certain men originally named Coyote were instructed by the culture hero to call their female descendants through males by the term hipa "corresponding" to their name Coyote. Similarly myth provided each one of the women's names with its associated "totem."[34]

In the Maricopa community there were phonetic equivalents of the Mohave women's names which served explicitly as names of the sibs. This is unlike the Mohave situation. The sib name was regarded as only potentially the name of all the women of the sib; many of them were called by the name of the sib, but only after marriage. The sib names might thus replace their personal names but this was by no means automatic and universal. They were rather used as convenient alternatives for the personal names. The feature of the Maricopa-Halchidhoma naming practice which contrasts most strongly with the Mohave as Kroeber describes it, is that most of the women had individual personal names, many of which had totemic import. Usually the names referred indirectly to the totems, but they were sometimes the everyday names of the totems. Some men, in addition, had names of the same sort.

To take the parallel instance, the Maricopa[35] sib χipa', one of whose totems was coyote (χatâluwe'), included forty-three women and girls. Eighteen of them bore names referring to the totems of this sib, while thirteen had names devoid of such reference. (Of the remaining twelve, some had no native names, for others it could not be recalled by my informant.) Four of the eighteen were called sim-

[34] *Ibid.; Preliminary Sketch of the Mohave*, p. 278.

[35] Strictly speaking, this refers collectively to the χipa sibs of Maricopa, Halchidhoma, and persons of Pima descent in the Maricopa-speaking community. It proved impossible to separate the names according to tribe in any satisfactory way (see p. 198).

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183 614 blood relatives. In the other two marriages within the local xipa' group, the couples were not related. One of these cases is interesting: a Maricopa xipa' woman married first a Pima classed as xipa' and later a Maricopa xipa'. Breach of the exogamic rule is implied in aboriginal times, for a stereotyped reaction was described which I doubt ever occurred with the modern marriages.

582 588 614 684 A man could not marry any known blood relative of either parent, nor any woman of his own sib. Hence he could marry an unrelated member of his mother's sib. If two related individuals did marry "without their parent's consent," they were regarded as dead. All their relatives would gather at the girl's home and mourn all day. They would set fire to the house, and break up and destroy all their belongings, just as though the girl had died. The man's parents did the same thing. The old people then told the couple they must never part, never remarry. It was held that children born to them would be weaklings.

In recent times the reaction was not so drastic. Sixteen years ago, B. J., a shaman now dead, married a girl of his own sib, xipa', who was in addition a close relative. His mother and this girl called each other by first-cousin terms; the exact relationship is unknown. The wife called him čnu', older sister's or cousin's child. He was an orphan who lived with her parents. People tried to prevent their marriage; they thought it revolting.

In another instance, a man married his paternal grandfather's sister's daughter (hence of another sib). I was told that in the old days this could not have happened. After nearly ten years, the aged grandfather is still unwilling to forgive, although he lives with the couple.

NAMES

553 Babies were given non-significant names, nicknames, by their mothers. It was not until they were several years old that real names were chosen, and these are given casually by anyone, without formality.[44] Boys' names were chosen indiscriminately, but girls were commonly named with reference to their sibs. Thus, xamitu'tc sib had for its principal totem the bean mes-

551 [614] quite, hence the girls of this sib were commonly named for parts of the mesquite, and sometimes the boys. One little girl of this sib, e.g., was named by her maternal grandmother's sister,

[44] The Pima naming ceremony with godparents was unknown here (Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 188).

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wanyuwa'n, "hanging in bunches," having reference to the clusters of mesquite beans on the trees. Somewhat less commonly children were nicknamed for physical peculiarities or habits, and still other names were of random origin and meaningless, or at least the reason for their use was not obvious to others nor generally known.

A small boy, W——, received his name from an old man, who said he dreamed he was in the desert where he saw a group of men seated in a circle. There was a little boy coming alone in the desert. They selected a name for him. They turned around and called him *munyoi'xăzdĭt*, "tarantula's backbone." The old man was anxious to see who the little boy was: when the boy drew near, he saw it was W——.

Such names of girls persisted through life. Sometimes they came to be known only by the names of their sibs, since it was the custom for the husband's relatives to call the wife in this fashion. Men, however, usually acquired a new name at marriage, the childhood name either being dropped or falling into secondary use. The man's new name was a nickname, said to be applied to him by his mother-in-law, but perhaps more commonly given by his friends who then declared his wife's mother had so styled him. This nickname was a derisive reference to his appearance, likened him to any ugly animal, or to his habits. For instance, one man was called *Prescott*—matkâvĭ'chwatcĭpŏ'mihwu', "the Prescott train's smokestack-nose." Doubtlessly such names frequently had gross sexual reference, but I was not told so.

The names of the dead and of the living were equally tabu and emphatically so. Kinship terms were used for reference, or some indirect description. Kinsmen were never addressed by name; it was thought horrible even to call a brother by his name. Even my interpreter, an emancipated woman, invariably avoided using names and, on that account, was sometimes unintelligible. Yet, while they were very uneasy at hearing their names mentioned, they had no hesitation whatever in naming themselves. There is no analogue to the Pima rule that boys and girls must not utter their own names.[43] The tabu was hardly slighter for the living than the dead, where it was intense. Yet they did not

[43] *Ibid.*

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584 their son to marry. Then the first family would say nothing whatever of their gifts: this was quite within her rights.

591 The young couple took up their residence in the home of the groom's parents. In fact some households became quite large when several sons brought home their wives. It was sometimes convenient for them to build a house of their own at once: they always did so following the birth of their second child. Their house might be located anywhere in the village, not of necessity beside the husband's former home. Since the farm lands, which [428] were inherited, were located at a distance from the village and house sites were not heritable property, there was no compulsion in the forms of inheritance to do so.[58]

It was thought unnatural for a man to live with his wife's family, unless his help was really needed there. They believed he must be jealous that he kept his wife from his family or his erstwhile companions who still frequented his former home.

428 591 It was a saying that a younger son or daughter would stay at home with their parents. Such a daughter would be joined by her husband. The older sons brought their wives home, but went off later to establish homes of their own. The older daughters marry elsewhere. Then the youngest at home inherited (Kutox). [This was obviously a matter of chance rather than any formalized junior inheritance.]

553 [585] A new social configuration settled about the couple. From this time forward, the bride was regularly called by the name of her sib by the husband's family, especially its women members. Similarly, the groom was derisively nicknamed by his wife's relatives. They called him ugly like an animal or referred to some discreditable habit. The invention of the nickname was uniformly credited to his mother-in-law, although she may not have been [606] its originator at all. A man was expected to treat his mother-in-law just like his wife. There was no mother-in-law taboo, nor one between father- and daughter-in-law. Brothers-in-law considered themselves close relatives and made it a point to help each other. [607] Between brothers- and sisters-in-law a certain amount of licence was permissible: they might say anything to each other, even to obscenity, without offense.

[58] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 228.